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VOL. 2

CALGARY, DECEMBER 20, 1917

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## THE NEW DAY

Ring out, wild bells, to the wild sky,  
The flying clouds, the frosty light;  
The year is dying in the night;  
Ring out wild bells, and let him die.

Ring out the old, ring in the new,  
Ring, happy bells, across the snow;  
The year is going, let him go;  
Ring out the false, ring in the true.

Ring out the grief that saps the mind,  
For those that here we see no more;  
Ring out the feud of rich and poor,  
Ring in redress to all mankind.

Ring out false pride in place and blood,  
The civic slander and the spite;  
Ring in the love of truth and right,  
Ring in the common love of good.

Ring out old shapes of foul disease;  
Ring out the narrowing lust of gold;  
Ring out the thousand wars of old,  
Ring in the thousand years of peace.

Ring in the valiant man and free,  
The larger heart, the kindlier hand;  
Ring out the darkness of the land,  
Ring in the Christ that is to be.  
—Alfred Tennyson, the most popular  
of English Lyrical poets.

## THE NEW CIVILIZATION

Times change, and men's minds  
with them. Down the past, civiliza-  
tions have exsposed themselves in  
terms of power, of world power, or of  
other-world power. No civilization  
has yet exsposed itself in terms of  
love-of-man. The humanists have  
no quarrel with the previous civiliza-  
tions. They were necessary in the  
development of mankind. But their  
purpose is fulfilled, and they will pass,  
leaving man to build the new and  
higher civilization that will exsposit  
itself in terms of love and service and  
brotherhood.—Jack London, celebra-  
ted American Author.

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# CURRENT HISTORY

## THE HOPE OF LASTING PEACE

To many thinking people in these times there is one dread that lies heavy on heart and brain—the thought that after all the unimaginable suffering, waste, and sacrifice of this war nothing may come of it, no real relief, no permanent benefit, no improvement to the future of mankind.

The publicists say: "Militarism must cease;" "Conditions for abiding peace must be secured;" which is the natural outcome of such a dread. It is admirable both in sentiment and intention. But human nature being what it has been and is likely to remain, the possibility must be faced that nothing will come of the war, save the restoration of conquered territories; some alterations of boundaries; a long period of economic and social trouble more bitter than before; a sweeping moral reaction after too great effort. This war, cosmically regarded, is a debauch rather than a purge, and debauches have always to be paid for. Viewing the situation in this spirit, there would be cause for more rejoicing if any of our wider hopes should by good fortune be attained.

For what does the war continue—leaving aside the restoration of Belgium? It goes on as it begun, because all peoples believe in their countries and what they stand for. And in considering how far the principle of nationality should be exalted, it is well to remember that it is in the main responsible for the present state of things. In truth, the principle of nationality of itself and by itself is a quite insufficient ideal. It is a glorification of self in a world of other selves, of value in so far as it forms part of that larger ideal, an international ethic, which admits the claims and respects the aspirations of all the nations. Without that ethic and according to the mere principle of nationality little nations are the prey of bigger nations. There are nations ever a little in advance of their age, already well grounded in this international ethic, of solid respect for the rights of all nations which belong to the same stage of development. "To live and let live," "To dwell together in unity," are the guiding maxims of the international ethic, by virtue of which alone have the smaller communities of men any chance of security in the maintenance of their national existences. Unless the principle of nationality is prepared to serve this international ethic, it would be but a frank abettor of the devilish maxim: "Might is right." All this is truism; but truisms are often the first things we forget.

The whole question of nationality bristles with difficulties which cannot be solved by theory and rule of thumb. What is a nation? Is it determined by speech, by blood, by geographical boundary, or by historic tradition? What assurance is there for the freedom and independence of a country even if by one voice it is demanded? There always remains the poignant question of the rights and aspirations of a minority. Let the air be cleared by all means by righting glaring wrongs, removing palpable anomalies, redressing obvious injustices, and securing as far as possible the independent national life of homogeneous groups. But do not be dazzled by the glamour of a word, and dream that by restoring a few landmarks, altering a few boundaries, and raising a pean to the word nationality, that all clouds from the skies of the world can be banished and the ambitions of the stronger nations be muzzled.

There is one solid hope for lasting peace, one promise of security for the rights and freedom of little countries, one reasonable guarantee of international justice and general humanity; and that hope lies in the gradual growth of democracy,—of rule by consent of the governed. When Europe is all democratic and its civilization on one plane then can be drawn the breath of assurance. And an enlightened democracy can achieve more good for a country and the world at large than the most ideal of despots that ever occupied the thrones of this earth.

If proof be needed that democracy alone can end aggression among nations that belong to the same stage of development, secure the rights of small peoples, foster justice and humaneness in man—examine well the history of the past century or so and let the human probabilities be weighed. Which is the more likely to advocate war? They, who by age, position, wealth, are secure against the daily pressure of life and the sacrifice that war entails, they who have passed their time out of touch with the struggle for existence, in an atmosphere of dreams, ambitions, and power over other men? Or they who every hour are reminded how hard life is, even at its most prosperous moments, who have nothing to gain by war, and all, even life, to lose; they who by virtue of their own struggles have a deep knowledge of and a certain dumb sympathy with the struggles of their fellow-creatures; who possess an instinctive repugnance to making those struggles harder; who have heard little and dreamed less of those so-called "national interests," that are so often mere chimeras; who love in their inarticulate way the country where they were born and the modes of life and thought to which they are accustomed, but know of no tradition and artificial reasons why the men of other countries should not be allowed to love their own lands and modes of thought and life in equal peace and security?

Assuredly of these two kinds of men the latter are the less likely to favor ambitious projects and wars. According as "the people," through their representatives, have or have not the final decision in such matters, the future of the world shall be made of war or peace, of respect or of disregard for the rights of little nations.

It is advanced against democracies that the workers of a country, ignorant and provincial in outlook, have no grasp of international politics. This is true where national ambitions and dreams are for the most part hatched and nurtured in nests perched high above the real needs and sentiments of the simple working folk who form nine-tenths of the population of each country. But once those nests of aggressive nationalism have fallen from their high trees and conform to the principle of rule by consent of the governed, it will be found that the general sense of the community informed by growing publicity is quite sufficient trustee of national safety and quite able to defend its country from attack.

It is urged that democracies are liable to be swept by gusts of passion, and are in danger of yielding to Press or mob sentiment. But the peoples of democratic countries are as firmly counselled and held in check by their responsible ministers and elected representatives as are the peoples of autocratically governed countries. "The people" have no power of initiative in either case; action is only

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through their leaders. But there is just this real difference. Representative governments must answer for their procedure to their fellow-men. Autocratic governments need only answer to their gods.

The problem before the world at the end of this war will be how to eliminate the virus of aggressive nationalism that will lead to fresh outbursts of death. This problem will beat the powers and goodwill of all, unless there come radical changes of governments, unless the real power passes into the hands of the people in all countries through their elected representatives. This is the only chance for the defeat of militarism, of that raw nationalism, which, even if beaten at first, will ever be lying in wait, preparing secret revenge and first attack. How can the democratization of the world be brought about? It is far off as yet. But it is certain that if it is not at last the outcome of this war, it will still be in vain to talk of the rights of little nations, of peace, disarmament, of chivalry, justice and humanity. We may even whistle for a changed world.

### "THOSE VICTORY LOANS"

Who believes in the necessity for economy? Mr. Bonar Law in his amiable, meditative way, said it certainly would be "better" if people would set aside so much money weekly or monthly and hand it over to the Government at once. It certainly would, and if Mr. Bonar Law is so certain that the money is so certainly needed, why does he waste his time cackling about it? Why hasn't he set up organizations for drafting off the savings of the people week by week and finance the war with sense and economy instead of going in for his spectacular Victory Loan which wasn't a Victory Loan at all? Who profits by these big loans? Is it because somebody profits by them that money is obtained in this way? Now, Mr. Law thinks it might be "better" to get the money week by week. If Mr. Bonar Law could by accident thump his head instead of the despatch box he is so fond of buffeting, it might quicken his extreme determination to win the war. The war to end war they call it. It seems to be getting more like the war that cannot end because we are ruled by those who do not want to end it and those who do not know how to end it.

—R. B. SUTHERS.

### "WHY SALFORD ELECTED BEN TILLET"

The election of Ben Tillett, M.P. for North Salford in the face of the powerful combination of the great parties demonstrates that some of the people have at last taken the liberty to think for themselves. It is a portent that suggests that the people are not all satisfied with the record of this best of all possible governments. Ben Tillett's stand for justice to the soldiers and sailors was a strong factor in his election. He believed that national sympathy for their dependents should be expressed in material and practical form, as well as verbal and spiritual. His programme included the elimination of the profiteers, and the thorough organization of the national resources for the conduct of the war. All through the war he has fought equally as keenly for the eradication of Prussianism, tyranny, and injustice in our own country, as he has for the complete smashing of Prussian militarism in Europe. That is why North Salford has chosen him.

—R. B. SUTHERS, in the "Clarion."

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"There is no wealth but life. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings."—Ruskin.

**THE UNION PARTY** The Union Party has been swept to power and the advent of its administration was issued in with great enthusiasm, with bands and drums and yells. The political situation brought about by the Union Party is not one to beat drums over, but is both grave and important. The fact that the Union Party is elected does not settle the Quebec problem, as a matter of fact it intensifies it, so that while a Union Party is in power we have actually a divided Canada.

We trust that the wisdom necessary to cope with our serious political difficulties will be found in the Union Party. Its task is not easy, even though we forget all election promises. In fact we are willing never to mention these promises again if the Union Party will work for a United Canada, and maintain that harmony which is essential to a nation at war.

French Canada and English Canada must be in some way converted into Canada, without any adjective. The Military Service Act, if enforced, will tend to divide rather than unite these factions, and every thoughtful citizen will appreciate the task which confronts the government at this time.

Politicians and theologians are responsible for our political muddle. The old fires have been fanned by these throughout the election, and we shall be lucky indeed if we escape the conflagration.

It is the intention of the Government to coerce a province comprising one-fifth of the population of this

Dominion. Perhaps the first step should be to make a real Union Government by admitting into the Cabinet a sufficient number of Quebec representatives to make up a proportional representation. If this were done we would have a National Government and much trouble might be averted.

\* \* \*

### THE ELECTION ACT

The Election Act is well named, for certainly it was an act which elected the Union Government. There are few people who doubt the benefit of the Election Act to the Union cause, in fact without such aid as this Act afforded it is very doubtful if Sir Robert Borden would have had a representative in Parliament.

This Act made provision for permitting a certain class of women to vote. Scouts were sent out by the Government before the Act was passed, to find out whether these women could be relied on to vote in the way desired. The scouts reported favorably, and the Act was framed and initiated upon the people of Canada. Its real significance is that the women whose relatives volunteered, want to force the relatives of other women into the army, and so voted for the fathers of the Military Service Act. Had the women who have husbands and sons to be conscripted, been allowed to vote the election results would have been different. The politicians knew this well when the Act was passed, and intended it to have the effect which it did have.

But what of the women who will be forced to give up their relatives? They will surely have the vote before the next election, and they are not likely to forget. We may safely predict that if the Sifters have not discharged Borden before the next election, which is very likely, the life of the Union Government will be five years in length.

\* \* \*

### A DISAPPOINTMENT IN STORE

The women who got the franchise in order that they might vote for the Union Government have been promised by the Unionist Party politicians that the Canadian soldiers now in the trenches will be allowed to come home on furlough. This proved a record vote getter, but it is a promise that the women are not likely to forget. It is also a promise that the Union Government cannot fulfill, unless Canada takes a less active part in the trenches than hitherto.

We are looking forward however,

to the speedy home-coming of our relations at the front, and hope that Mr. Thomas Tweedie will lose no time in ordering their release, and see to it that a proper naval escort is detailed at once to convey the boys back for a holiday. These men have earned a rest, and they can't get it too soon to suit us. Hurry with the relief!

But alas! This is a win-the-election promise. There are not enough men in Canada to relieve our boys and keep up the same fighting strength. We therefore offer our sympathy to the expectant mother or wife who voted on the 17th for a furlough.

\* \* \*

### THE HALIFAX DISASTER

The great tragedy at Halifax has come as a terrible blow to the whole people of Canada; it is a disaster indistinguishable and in so far as the bereaved are concerned, we can only extend our sympathy. But the appeal for aid has gone out, and will be responded to heartily by the Dominion, and should be dealt with as the first duty of the Union Government.

This disaster was due entirely to war. The casualties are casualties of war, and it is the bounding duty of the state to make up the loss, and support the wounded and bereaved in the same manner as we do with our soldiers. This is being made a charitable appeal just as has been done with soldiers' dependents, and we believe that such is not the way to meet the needs of Halifax adequately in this trying circumstance.

The Government has the money, the disaster is the result of war activity, and the people of Canada would be solid behind the Government should it decide to deal with Halifax in a truly patriotic and satisfactory manner. We would therefore urge that the first duty of the Union Government be to make up the loss to Halifax, in so far as that is possible, and to grant war pensions to dependents on the same basis as our soldiers and their dependents.

\* \* \*

### TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

There is a new spiritual freshening of the industrial movement in Britain. No event of greater political significance has occurred since the war began than the reorganization of the Labor Party on a wider and more popular basis.

Following the conference of co-operative societies, at which it was decided to seek direct representation in Parliament for this great trading movement of the working class and to establish closer relations with the trade union movement,—has come the new draft constitution of the

worker's party. Now three powerfully organized sections of the industrial movement—the trade unions, the workers' political party, and the co-operative societies—are moving along converging paths towards a new alignment of their forces. The relations between these three sections are certain to become much closer in the immediate future.

The Labor Party leads the way. Under the new scheme which the national executive has approved, the Labor members of Parliament will cease to become a mere sectional group, and will become a strong national party, capable of sustaining the responsibilities of national government through a cabinet of its own making. Behind the party in Parliament there will be an extremely strong political movement in the country for the new constitution to be submitted to the January conference at Nottingham will be broadened to admit any of the sixteen million voters to membership.

This means a new political alliance between the workers by hand and by brain, uniting them in support of a programme of social and economic reforms in which they have a common interest. The result, should the scheme be adopted, would inevitably lead to a powerful infusion of new ideas and tend to break down the narrow class philosophy of Labor politics. Membership in the new local organizations will be open to anyone who has to maintain themselves by industry, and who subscribe to the constitution and programme of the party. The scope of the new draft constitution has been definitely widened to include the political interests of "all producers by hand or brain without distinction of class or occupation." This means that a clergyman, shopkeeper, or stockbroker can join a party whose aim is to organize to secure for the producers the full fruits of their industry and the equitable distribution thereof, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production.

It is a new definition of "Labor," rendered imperative by the enfranchisement of six million women by the new Reform Bill. Trade union interests are thoroughly safeguarded. The basis of the party is simply widened to include not only the organized workers and the women, but also the large mass of people belonging to the manufacturing, commercial, and professional classes who have grown dissatisfied with both the policy and the methods of the old orthodox political parties. The term "Labor" is to be given a wider meaning and significance.

This in itself is a sufficient answer to those gloomy prophets who predicted that the divisions of opinion upon war policy within the organized working class movement would bring about the dissolution and collapse of the party. The process of disintegration has not gone far yet, on the contrary, efforts are now being made to such purpose as to place the Labor Party upon an unassailable foundation as the democratic party of the future.

\* \* \*

#### THE SALE OF HONORS

About the most interesting of subjects for debate in the British House of Lords was the recent debate on the sale of Honors to provide funds for political purposes. Some very definite and detailed charges were made which the Government made no attempt to deny and which indeed, could not be denied.

Every Honors list provides well-founded suspicion that a considerable number of the men whose names figure in the list have purchased the Honor (?) by a liberal contribution to a political fund. Unknown men, or men known only as the possessors of great wealth and who have no claim whatever for recognition receive baronetcies and peerages. The conferment of an honor or title designated for distinguished and well-merited public service in exchange for a money payment on men quite unworthy of distinction, is not only reprehensible, but takes away much of the value of that mark of honor which should be conferred upon men justly entitled to it.

Recent Honors lists have contained the names of men who have possessed a reputation of a very discreditable character. It is proof that our incompetents in high places are still more concerned over the nice points of party advantage, the division of "the spoils of office," the intriguing and huckstering for place and power, than they are for the realities of life and the welfare of the nation. It is even regrettable that such days as New Years' Days or King's Birthdays, should be so sullied by the claims of privilege, family and party, in the granting of these distinctions.

The House of Lords passed the resolution that in future no recommendation for a title shall be made unless an assurance be given that it is free from the taint of purchase. It is doubtful if this will be done. For if the political parties were deprived of this means of raising funds for party purposes, it might be found difficult to get them by honest and legitimate means.

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## NON-PARTISAN JOTTINGS

As far as the Nonpartisan League candidates in the recent election are concerned we are very pleased at the success they achieved, and though we are a little disappointed at not securing an actual victory we are by no means discouraged. The fact that thousands of votes--the actual figures are not yet to hand--were cast for the farmers' candidates justifies more than ever the existence of the League, the work it has already accomplished, and the great impetus it has given to the farmers' movement for direct legislation, and the numerous letters we have received of congratulation on our showing and urging us to repeated efforts in the field, show that the members realize what a good beginning we have made despite a strenuous and uphill battle.

Issues in this campaign were not the farmers' issues at all, the whole of Canada being engaged in one fight alone, and apart from the splendid publicity that the League received, the program of the League came in for very little consideration while the wave of patriotic sentiment was on. Nevertheless the support was very gratifying, and there is no manner of doubt that with proper organization we farmers will be able to establish better political and economic conditions in the Western Provinces. The wave of feeling over conscription submerged every other consideration, and already numbers of people who have calmed down are wondering why they did not support the League candidate.

Remember this--the present Government will be in power for four or five years, and we must not lose sight of the fact that the farmers' organizations are the only bodies that we can look to for action to force legislation for the agricultural community. The reconstruction period following the war will be a strenuous time for the rural people, and we must by energetic organization make our voice penetrate the council chamber of the land.

With regard to the campaign the old line parties--especially the party in power--spent thousands and thousands of dollars in the ridings in which we had candidates, and this coupled with the unfair election act allowed any Nonpartisan candidate little chance of winning. However, the day of reckoning is not far distant when the common people will stop this reckless public squandering of money.

A careful survey of the votes to hand in the different constituencies shows that the Nonpartisan League candidates received splendid support outside the membership. For the most part, towns and cities went solid against our candidates which show that if the farmer wishes to achieve anything for himself he will only get results by acting in concert with his neighbors. A house divided against itself will fall, and until the farming becomes class-conscious as other professions and businesses are, the persistent ignoring of the tiller of the soil as a political factor in the national life will continue.

Our candidates have been received everywhere by thinking audiences, and the attention accorded them by their hearers was in every way encouraging. The goodwill of the candidates has been remarked in the country press, and taken with the fact that we have fought this election cleanly--a thing which our political opponents cannot understand--has secured us still stronger support in Alberta.

This election interfered with our organization, and the fact that the province has hardly been touched by the organization shows how much can be accomplished in the future. We are going ahead right now, and though not much can be accomplished during the winter, the plans for the spring will be exact when the executive have dealt with the outline now being drawn up.

Previous to this election we were unknown, and the advertising the campaign gave us is of incalculable benefit. Twelve months ago we started, and to-day we have hundreds of letters from farmers saying they will join up with the League directly after the election, as they have felt their position very keenly over conscription and did not care to identify themselves with any pledge that might interfere with their stand--either for or against compulsory military service.

And in conclusion we have to thank the noble band of disinterested workers who lent their aid on platforms and in canvassing for their good work, mentioning C. England of Blackie, W. D. Trego of Gleichen, G. McComber of Queenstown, and Russell Main and J. McDougall of Pincher Creek, and J. Higginbotham of Hanna, as the leaders in this class, and we extend our congratulations to the members of the League on the showing in the first Federal fight, hoping all will enjoy the Yule-tide festive board and gird up their loins for the battle in the coming glad New Year.

### CARRY ON

There was never greater need for a true progressive party in Canada, than at the present moment. The sweeping success of the Union Government is one of the strongest reasons for continued effort. The win-the-election cry of the Unionists was thin, sentimental, and in many cases ridiculous, yet it succeeded in covering up great fundamental issues of political and economic importance. This together with an election act which is a disgrace to a country that has given and will give its sons to die for democracy, secured the election of the representatives of the vested interests of Canada, and secured the profiteers against the conscription of wealth.

The future belongs to the progressives, and there can be no giving up. This election has shown the urgent need of sound popular education. From press and platform our campaign for true democracy must continue until Canada has wrested from the Kaisers at home, that which our soldiers have wrested from the Kaiser abroad.

The economic conditions of the future will favor the progressive move-

ment, for men not only "fight on their stomachs," but they think on their stomachs. While wheat is between two and three dollars per bushel, and while there are two jobs for every man we can afford to ignore the economic appeal. But the end of these fevered conditions is in sight. Only a year or two, and we shall be faced with grave industrial and economic problems. We must pay for the war, we must take care of our soldiers, we must pay high interest on enormous borrowings, we must find work for our people.

Every one who cares to think can see that the Union Government will not be able to meet the economic needs of Canada in the coming years; The wealthy interests, and landed proprietors will not legislate against themselves, wealth will not be conscripted. In other words all the injustice which in the past justified the existence of progressive political organizations is still with us, and will be increasingly intensified in the future. Therefore must we stand firm as long as there is need.

We want to end the exploitation both of Land and Labor in Canada. We desire to end the foolish partisan divisions that mean both the political helplessness and corruption of the people. These are great and worthy undertakings, and will imply many years of co-operative effort both in education and direct political activity. Let us then put on our armour for a long and hard struggle in the interests of the justice and democracy of our expressed ideals.

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6th of January, 1918

"Is the Crowd Ever Right?"

# NON-PARTISAN POLITICS

## CAN THE LEAGUE SUCCEED?

With the whole world directing its confused attention to the economic conditions that make up the lives of nations, is it any wonder that the simple solutions put forward by the Non-partisan League to remedy the trouble in which farmers' affairs have got into are attracting the attention of the whole of this continent. Thousands of farmers in the North-western States have been studying the effect of the League in North Dakota, and thousands of farmers who have been created in the lap of party affiliation in this country have been watching the progress of the League in Western Canada, purely unprejudiced, but wanting assurance that the League will achieve the objects aimed at.

The onward course of the movement is certain. Its need is apparent to every one engaged in the agricultural industry. It is the only body that offers combined political action without sectarianism, creed or nationality intervening. Like a fraternal order, the good that can come out of it is only the expression of the good that the farmers put into it themselves. The ultimate outcome of the force depends on the driving force the tillers of the soil put in. There is no denying the fact that in the future the big interests whose power lies in keeping the farmers divided, will put all the power of the money machine to work to prevent the aims of the farmers, and only by sticking together can the disintegrating force of the money machine be nullified.

From now on the farmer must be determined to work all the harder for the future, the good cleavage, for undermining tactics are always tried by the financial interests. With astuteness coming those interests always appeal to man's baser nature, and that appeal always takes the form of entrapment to make a man traitor to his class—do this! When a quarry man goes to work, he always starts at the point of least resistance—in the crevices, and that is where the initial blast is placed. A political man can start an orgy of insanity, as he would rushing for the entrance to the first alarm of fire can cause the death of dozens where concerted action would have averted any loss.

Following the election there will follow a period of reflection in which the Non-partisan standpoint can clearly be seen. Although there is no need for haste, one cannot but admit that it was the finest election that has ever been fought in Canada. It was so near that it will not bear discussing by decent men, and if we cannot find a middle ground to agree there will be no knowing when to stop. The candidates of the Non-partisan League stood out from the others, both in regard to their platform and address and the clearness of their personality.

Violence, intervention and abuse are hard to ignore, but the Non-partisan League candidates, locally, nationally, and internationally, followed the Christian ideal, example. Much of this abuse was the outcome of other feeling engendered by the political phase of the election, and was proportionate to that respect, and that is why the political campaign differed so greatly from the provincial one. The matter was clear, the former dirty. During this week's phase of national importance.

## PARTISANISM A PASSING FETISH

Not all the editors are Partisans. Here is an article published by the Vulcan Advocate, of which Mr. R. W. Glover is editor:

It is inevitable in these days when the Philistines of partyism are descending to defeat and oblivion, one should find them sitting in the seats of the scornful in regard to anything new or progressive. There is almost inconceivable failure on their part to see that tomorrow is not today, and that the things of one generation are not always the precedent for the coming generation. They refuse the prophets a hearing because the prophets will not foretell smooth things, and they bolster their belief in the old shibboleths of their creed unmindful of the fact that a new era of independent thought is dawning which the war is hastening into effect.

The nucleus of this change, so long dormant in the minds of a great many men who were waiting only for the opportunity of response, finds itself in Western Canada with the Non-partisan League as its mouthpiece. It is never too early or too rash to prophesy when once there are basic principles from which to start and one sees in the movement, if not in the League itself, the creation of an independent political power in the country. It may not always be known as the Non-partisan League, the probabilities are that it will not have that name for very long as various elements at present outside of it are bound to be drawn in, and with the acquisition of new ideas, there are bound to be great changes in its constitution and atmosphere. Today it is largely if not wholly composed of farmers. That will change and the artisan class will be drawn into it, and eventually it will develop into a sort of social democratic organization such as has never been known in this country. And as such it will become the political voice of the people, holding the balance of power in the councils of the nation. It will be the people's party with representatives of the people chosen by the people themselves without any dictatorial order or machine saw-off.

Now these things and a great many more will happen as surely as tomorrow's dawn, and those who refuse to see them are closing their eyes to truth; probably because truth hurts.

Political freedom is the demand of four-fifths of the people of Western Canada to-day, and they have the opportunity of strengthening the realization of their hopes brought nearer every year. Today in this riding we have the opportunity of sending to Ottawa a man who represents these views, a man who combines with a vigorous domestic policy a pledge for the fullest prosecution of the war by men, money and material. These are no half measures; he is the man for the farmers; owes no allegiance to any political party, but fights to go to Ottawa as the representative of the men whom he knows. What clearer cut reasons could come out for than these, and who amongst creeping littleness of party affiliations and cowardice will hesitate at breaking the first few links by an independent vote?

## THE VALUE OF ORGANIZATION

With the passing of the election, attention can now be given to the things that matter, things of moment in the history of nations. All the world is turning its attention to the problem of organization, the efficiency shown by the Prussian war machine giving the greatest pause. As David Lubin, who conceived the international Bureau of Agriculture, says, "If the Germans have evolved any system that has achieved certain ends with the maximum of result and the minimum of labor is there any reason why we should not make that method our own?" He points out that with the adoption of the Prussian land development system by the French, France has a better supply of land produce, within the exception of wheat, than ever before.

Now comes Hughes of Australia advocating the organization of industry within Australia and further within the Empire, and as he voices much of the propaganda of the Non-partisan movement and the aims of the Canadian Council of Agriculture the gospel of organization can bear repeating. He contends that in another decade, with no war, organized Germany would have wrested the trade supremacy of the world from unorganized Britain, and reduced Russia and Italy to economic servitude.

"In the past," he says, "we have concerned ourselves with individuals instead of with industry as a whole. Germany did the opposite." He goes on to say that production is a national function and it should proceed on business lines, enlist the aid of science, receive adequate financial backing, and have the support of the whole weight of the community.

That is all the Non-partisan League asks for—the treatment of farming as a national function, the farmers as a self-contained community, with the vast organization of food supply in the government hands. It is the greatest industry on earth—and the most disorganized. The disorganization proceeds from the farmers themselves owing to the fact that except in one or two exceptional cases they have not been taught to think as a body but have been led apart to consider their economic problems from the viewpoints of different political schools. Owing to the peculiar position in which nations have been brought through the influence of legal-made legislation nothing can be achieved except through the realms of politics, and the stranglehold which interests that prey on the farmers' products have upon the political machine is too well-known to need recapitulation.

It is easily to be seen that the U.F.A. organization is pregnant with the possibilities of successful legislation for the good of the agrarian community but it can never give issue to results directly, for all life is throttled out of the being brought forth by the fact that it is not a political body and therefore it cannot breathe in the political atmosphere. The organization that can teach the farmers to think and work nationally is the Non-partisan League, for its platform has the very fundamentals that Hughes aims at, designed to harmonize every fraction of thought in the farming body to one great co-operative and—to assist individuals to produce at the minimum cost and dispose of their products in the best market at the highest price. That is the Hughes slogan, the genesis of the Non-partisan League, and the secret is government control and the elimination of the middleman non-producer by political action.



## POLITICAL FORCES IN GERMANY

The Reichstag in Germany is composed of 45 Conservatives and Agrarians, 44 National Liberals, 91 Centrists, 46 Liberals and 100 representatives of the Social Democratic and Labor Parties. There are in addition 59 members belonging to different parties or odd groups.

The votes obtained by each of the leading groups in the last election were:—1,126,270 for the Conservatives and Agrarians, 1,662,670 for the National Liberals, 1,996,845 for the Centre, 1,497,041 for the Liberal parties and 4,250,399 for the Social Democrats.

Prussia has the worst franchise in the world not even barring the New Canadian Disfranchisement measure. In the Western half of Prussia one deputy has come to stand for 98,000 inhabitants. In the Rhine province a population of 7,120,000 is entitled to sixty-three representatives, while in East and West Prussia, Pomerania, and Posen, a total of 7,584,000 is assigned 109. Conversely, the fifty-four deputies of East and West Prussia represent 3,767,000 people; the fifty deputies of Brandenburg bear the mandates of 6,163,000 souls. The industrial classes in the state remain a submerged group, Berlin with her two million inhabitants sending twelve members to the Landtag. As Herr Traeger put it in that assembly, one-half of the population of Prussia has twice the representation of the other half.

The half whose predominance in the government is thus assured is Eastern Prussia, the stronghold of the irreconcilable, absolutist Junkers, who are the seemingly adamant base of Hohenzollern autocracy. It is from the Eastern provinces that the Conservative party in the Landtag draws its strength. In 1912 they elected 193 of the 443 members of the Chamber, 87 of whom were great landed proprietors. Their representatives constitute two-thirds of the Conservative wing. From them have come such leaders as von Hindenburg, Heydebrandt, and Reventlow, who are said to carry swords in their mouths. Thanks to the districting of 1860 the Junkers are securely fixed in the saddle, and before their ironical contempt all efforts to give representation to the overpopulated Liberal regions of the West have been abortive.

Finally to reduce the importance of the popular vote to the vanishing point, Prussia has hitherto been equipped with the famous three-class system, which makes wealth the

coefficient of political privilege. At the core of the three-class system is the distinction in the electorate of three classes; the great landowners and large financial and industrial fortune-holders; small business men and officials; and the proletariat. Prussia accepts the theory of the historian, von Gneist, that because of heavier contributions and higher intellectual capacity, the two upper classes must be endowed with a more effective share of political rights. In the tax-list of each primary district the taxpayers are enrolled according to the amount of their direct taxes, non-taxpayers being rated arbitrarily as paying three marks.

The following table illustrates the working of the method:—

		Marks.	Total Marks.
3	Taxpayer (a)	1,200	
	" (b)	1,075	
	" (c)	1,058	3,333
6	Taxpayer (d)	1,000	
	" (e)	550	
	" (f)	490	
	" (g)	460	
	" (h)	430	
	" (i)	404	3,334
250	200 Taxpayers		
	having 400		
	to 5 marks 3,183		
	50 non-Taxpayers	150	3,333
		10,000	10,000

So just as serving in the army in Canada gives extra votes to a family—the possession of dollars or marks has the same effect in Prussia.

The war party in Germany depends mainly upon the support of the Conservative-Agrarian combination, a minority element in the Reichstag and still more decidedly a minority element in the general electorate. The strength of the combination is derived largely from the advantageous social position and wealth of the junkers and industrialists who constitute its leadership. But the party has not been able to command the allegiance of all the big industries of Germany. Neither the great chemical industries nor the electrical industries have given undivided allegiance to the Conservative group. The chemical and electrical industries are dependent upon foreign markets, and, since their products are not staples that can be forced down the consumer's throat, they naturally incline toward a liberal and conciliatory commercial policy. There are numerous minor industries in similar case. All these industries have consistently advo-

cated moderate protection and the cultivation of foreign markets. Their political representatives, like the population at large, were swept off their feet by the great wave of patriotism that followed the declaration of war and down to the present have loyally supported the government's war policy. But the entrance of America into the war has opened their eyes to the commercial consequences of that policy and they are now joining with those who are urging peace.

To these groups working for peace it appears that we must now add the intellectuals. The German intellectuals were largely responsible for the currents of thought which made war inevitable three years ago. It was this class that gave the most hearty endorsement to the world policy inaugurated by the government and by speeches and pamphlets succeeded in popularizing it throughout Germany. The Pan-German movement is a product of the intellectuals. But Pan-Germanism had passed its zenith even before the outbreak of the war. It was losing its hold upon the manufacturing and trading middle class. For many years an opposing intellectual movement had been growing up under the shelter of the Social Democracy. High spirited men of all classes were being won over to socialism, which had taken firm root in the universities. As the Pan-German intellectual movement recedes, socialistic intellectualism gains headway. It is bound to play an important part in the movement toward peace and the liberation of Germany.

### MONOPOLY IN PATRIOTISM

"There are a lot of people who would pluck all the feathers out of the American eagle to feather their own nests."—Congressman John M. Baer.

### A GOOD NAME.

John Knox is a good name for a reformer; every reformer knocks more or less—that's part of the necessary business.

"If we are to have price-fixing let it be effective, let it go right down the line, or let us have none at all."

"It is false logic that says you can pay for the war in the future. The lives and material are being used now. To attempt to put off payment to the future merely adds the interest on the bonds to the principal."

I take my stand absolutely where every progressive ought to take his stand, that private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable."

"Society is divided into two classes, the shearers and the shorn. We should always be with the latter, against the former."—Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, French bishop and statesman, 1754-1838.

## What Our Members Say

Short, Snappy Letters for Publication from our Members will be Gladly Received

### ALBERTA PRE-EMINENT

Mr. Editor:—

The question has been asked me—"What are you going to do with only three Nonpartisan members in the House? They will get swamped," especially should the Government have a good majority. Well, well, my dear boy, you are again talking before you think.

We have a measure of direct legislation in Alberta, and with our League working on the outside and our three "Vimy Ridge" stalwarts on the inside, we can get this measure easily available.

Once that is done, any local U.F.A. can initiate any one article of the program of the council of agriculture into law, and it's a safe bet that a majority of the farmers would vote in its favor.

The influence of the U.F.A. convention secured for us the present law from our "friends, the enemy," and don't you feel that their power will procure more for them than their indirect influence?

Of course, out of ten laws initiated by any farmer's local or union workmen's local, at least nine will be endorsed by both organizations. Once we begin to feel the benefit of a business administration of public affairs, we will go from one pinnacle of success to another, until Alberta will stand pre-eminent as the Province where living conditions are as good as wheat.

Yours for the good of all men,

DANIEL BOISSEvain,  
Strathmore, Alta.

\* \* \*

### THE RIGHT IDEA

Dear Editor:—

You have the right idea. Having only recently read your propaganda it seems to crystallize and make possible most of the ideas I have held for years. I have long felt that the main question of the day is the overthrow of graft and patronage in our government, and to have the affairs of the country managed in the interest of all, instead of for the few.

This war is a war for peace—a war of the political democracies against the political autocracies. If consistent all progressives and independents should be on the side of the political democracies. It is a big and important work that the war aims of Canada be kept pure and unselfish. But great agencies are at work for corruption. The monied interests and war profiteers have resisted successfully for three years a fair and democratic war profits tax and conscription of wealth. The war cannot remain a war for democracy while individuals and corporations are making riches out of it and waxing fat at the nation's expense.

This cannot be longer allowed, wealth must be made to pay its full and just share of the cost. There is a big field for activity for everyone to prevent the war being made a means of placing autocracy more firmly in the saddle in Canada. Let us all still press on the government the need for taking over munition and war supply manufacturing, so that no profit whatever can be made out of the industries needed and directly interested in promoting war. Conditions at home must be kept fair and just while the war for democracy is being fought for in Europe.

—A. BUCKLER.

### EDUCATE THE PEOPLE!

Editor, NONPARTISAN:—

I have been getting THE NONPARTISAN and now hate to lose an issue. You are doing an incomparable work. While struggling for political democracy of the world we must not give up the fight for democracy in Canada. To always remain slaves of the monied kings and of the oligarchy in Ottawa, would be almost as intolerable as to become pawns of a brutal military system.

Your stand for conscription of wealth as well as of men is patriotism of the purest and fairest type. Your stand for state-owned public utilities, elevators, packing plants, etc., as well as your sympathy for labor in its great struggle everywhere, must appeal with mighty force to every thinking person who is a lover of justice and not at the same time a bigot or an ignoramus. Educate the people in the principles of democracy and let the people rule!

—B. A. VIRGO.

### SAME "OVER HERE"

"Everything is being monopolized in this country to-day. A few men control the steel industry, a small group controls all the great railroad lines. It is the same way with coal and lumber and leather and grain; everything is monopolized except the air, they can't corner that. And now we have come to learn that there are some men who would even monopolize the right to be patriotic."

—A. C. TOWNLEY.

\* \* \*

### THE I. W. W. MOVEMENT

The writer of an article on the above movement, appearing in the "New Republic" while deprecating the hatred and bitterness against constituted authority which permeates the I. W. W. recognises that its leaders are not normal men and women, but are imaginative people with highly developed sympathies, so hypersensitive to the sufferings of the poor and the injustice of our economic regime that they have been driven into uncompromising and bitter warfare against society.

They burn with indignation and revolt and scorn the easy philosophy that permits others to wait complacently for the slow, tedious revolutionary process.

Their field is the great army of unskilled laborers, the most oppressed and exploited of workers, but who are indispensable to the operation of great industries, which employ them for a few weeks in the year and then turn them off to shift for themselves in other spheres. They function as master publicity agents for social conditions that are rotten and require the attention they attract. During the Lawrence strike in 1912 the I. W. W. propaganda stirred New Eng. land and all the East to its depths and shocked the whole country into awareness. There is no disputing the benefits that have flowed from exposure of rotten conditions, accomplished by means of I. W. W. flare-ups. Dr. Carleton Parker, Professor of Economics at the University of Washington, and formerly Secretary of the California State Commission on Immigration and Housing, has given a written and official testimony to the part played by the I. W. W. during the great strike in the Sacramento Valley hop fields in 1914. The working conditions of those armies of migratory laborers that are such an important factor in the economic life of the Coast States,

have been revolutionized as the result of the untiring agitation of the I. W. W. during this strike. Ford and Suhr, leaders in that revolt are now serving life terms in San Quentin!

The men in this movement count jail sentences as a soldier counts his medals, and are no sooner clear of one fight than they are in the thick of another spreading the gospel of revolt.

This writer says—"If we get away from the absolutes of right and wrong and view the I. W. W. as a social phenomenon, to be studied and appraised as the geologist would study glacial forces, we cannot withhold a tribute to its immense value as a factor in our striving toward industrial democracy."

The I. W. W. cannot expect to stay out of jail during war time; but the moral tone of our prisons will not deteriorate because those rebel souls must languish there.

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## LIFE AND WORK

### OUR CHURCH CHRISTIANITY

"Curse ye, Meroz, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof because they came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty. —Judges 5-23.

Such was the text of a prominent clergyman in a local church on pre-election Sunday. Such was his christian contribution to the loyalty cry and "unity of Canada." Over 2,000,000 Canadians—French, but Canadian,—and every other citizen of this great country who disagreed with the emotional propaganda of the Union Government campaign, was, in the opinion of this Rev. gentleman cursed in the eyes of the Lord.

This man's christianity is not unique. We pass with distaste over the disgusting scene precipitated by another pastor in the church for which he is responsible. We contemplate with chagrin and alarm the attitude taken by the heads of the protestant denominations in Canada. We were led to believe, formerly, that the Catholic hierarchy was the only "worldly and corrupt" church which sought to influence and direct the attitude of the members of its congregations on political and social matters. It is some centuries ago since our freedom-loving forefathers achieved the official separation of church and state, and for many generations, the protestant churches have been content with building up and strengthening the spiritual life of their congregations.

With the breaking up of the belief in creeds and dogmas, and the tenets of Christianity, with congregations unsatisfied with the spiritual solace offered from the pulpit, the modern church has been forced to fasten its attention upon the social and economic lives of its people, to retain any vestige of hold upon them.

It is not the fact of their taking a stand in the affairs of the nation, but the manner of the stand they take, that gives cause for alarm. We find our churches unprogressive, conservative, and demanding the sanction of authority and influence, in every issue that involves or necessitates an attitude on their part. So far from leading and interpreting the highest ideals of Christianity in relation to modern problems and conditions the church is the last institution to need the "push" toward enlightenment.

We find this attitude very clearly revealed in the church election stand. Not content with an honest belief in

Union Government, the ministers of the some denominations have, with the aid of old testament texts applicable to conditions very different from ours, or purely mythical, called down the wrath of the Lord upon all those who disagreed in addition to branding them as slackers, traitors and cowards.

Those attributes of the founder of Christianity, divine tolerance, brotherly love, understanding humanity, where are they in our hour of need? Certainly not in our churches. Certainly not in their election cries for the "unity" of our Canadian profiteers.

\* \* \*

### Legislative Unity

The election has placed the Unionist Government in absolute control of the political destinies of Canada for the next five years. The majority is strong enough to enable the ministry to completely disregard the parliamentary opposition when enacting legislation and determining its policies. No third party by shifting its support can defeat the Government. On paper and by count in Parliament Canada is united. Yet every serious Canadian knows that these things do not really indicate the condition of the nation.

The Election and Franchise Acts have enabled a minority of the people of Canada to acquire official control. The official majority of an actual minority is in power.

How far is it possible for such a government to render effective policies which have not popular sanction? How will it be able to carry on any vital policy not backed by a substantial majority of those required for and affected by its execution? How far will the Government go in enforcing its policy? These questions to-day are asked and unanswered by every real Canadian. The answer will give sanction or everlasting condemnation to elections on a franchise limited to the adherents of a particular program.

There is no real unity in Canada. The two predominant races oppose each other in distrust. Catholics in opposition to the Government in every hamlet face their jealous protestant rivals now in power. Labor murmurs protests against its master. Three possibilities exist, acquiescence to government action, submission by the official majority to the will of the people or resistance. In these coming years the ideal of a united Canada should be the mental star by which to guide the course of this young pilgrim among the nations.

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## NATIONAL ECONOMY

Down to the present, all the speeches of the Prime Minister and others, all the costly advertisements in the newspapers, and all the efforts of the War Savings Committee have failed to reduce the aggregate expenditure of the hundred thousand families enjoying incomes of a £1,000 a year and upwards. Motor cars, the more expensive travelling, a certain number of superfluous houses, and the more costly kinds of entertainments, have apparently been very generally cut down. But expenditure on clothes, furs and jewellery has never been so great; housekeeping bills are greater than ever before in our history; more domestic servants are kept than there are people to be served; more people travel by rail even at 50 per cent. additional fares; hotels and restaurants are thronged, and it is a significant fact that the more expensive secondary schools for boys and girls are fuller than has ever been known. It is unmistakable evidence that the incomes of £1,000 a year and upwards have been increased by the war, both in number and amount.

But what is very grave, from the standpoint of the nation's ability to go on standing the financial strain, is that the rich are for the most part still spending these incomes, unrepentant and unabashed, and still using and consuming for themselves the commodities and services which are vital for the oldsters, sailors, and munition workers. Mr. Bonar Law must next spring impose a stiff capital levy on this wealth. He should claim, at least, a thousand million sterling, payable by instalments. Then we might at last get some effective private economy.—The New Statesman.

## PAYING IT TWICE OVER

It is all very well for Mr. Bonar Law to comfort us by not proposing to put on any additional taxation this year, and that the next addition to our national debt is only "3,000 millions." What it means is that our wealthy classes prefer to get richer by the war, instead of poorer, and the government continues the system of paying for the war twice over—once to army, navy and munition contractors in direct expenditure, and a second time in the annual interest and sinking fund that it will have to pay on loans which might have been taxes. The maintenance of the war out of loans borrowed at high rates of interest is bad national economy, and wasteful, and extravagant. It could only be adopted by a government evidently biased by the obvious interests of the propertied classes.—The New Statesman.

## HOSPITAL VS. PRISON.

So-called crime, in many instances, possibly in all, is largely coming to be recognized as a pathological condition, perhaps largely influenced by economic necessity and environment. We may yet see the day when such an institution as a prison will be unknown, and a complete system of remedial treatment organized. Many cases of offences against the law, now treated in prison, should properly be diagnosed in a special department of the hospital. They are as much the result of a pathological condition as tuberculosis or any other well known disease. A recent paper, given before a medical congress in America, shows that attempts are already being made to open up such clinics in various hospitals, this gives rise to the hope that the next few years will see the present system of prison treatment, which is brutalizing and debasing, abolished, and a saner and more enlightened policy of real remedial measures established.

## "THE DEATH PENALTY"

It was Korniloff that restored the death penalty as the proper reward for indiscipline in the Russian Army. Now in his enforced retirement he may be reconsidering his viewpoint. But what about the error made by our "Shoot 'em" journalists who, after glorifying Kerensky—of whom they knew very little for months, could not resist the appearance of "a man of action," and promptly announced that Kerensky was, after all, "only a talker," whose defeat was inevitable. The "gasbag" now has the "man of action" under lock and key awaiting trial. As his honesty and patriotism are generally acknowledged, he will probably get off lightly, and there is even a chance that cordial relations between the two principal parties to the civil war that did not take place may be re-established.

—The New Statesman.

## THE CRY FOR JUSTICE

*A gospel of new hope to the race, appealing to the growing sense of social justice in industry, in politics, and in every field of human activity; an inspiring message from the master spirits of all ages to every thinking man and woman.*

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# WILL THE CHURCH SURVIVE?

(By D. C. HEAD.)

## A REGILOUS PROPHET

What is the utility of fiction as a vehicle for religious ideas? In his book, "The Soul of a Bishop," Mr. H. G. Wells, passionately in earnest, pictures a Bishop, Dr. Scrope, an ecclesiastical dignitary who has unfrocked himself out of loyalty to the voice of conscience and the call of truth. Whatever criticisms might be urged against Mr. Wells' writings, it must be conceded he is serious and enthusiastic, and also that he is ministering to the psychological temper begotten by this terrible war.

The incapacity of the Church to comprehend the radical nature of the changes wrought by it, her inability to slough off the traditional harness, of which Bishop Scrope's impeding gaiters are a fair sample, is one of the tragic revelations of this tragic hour. For what is the conviction slowly forming in the soul of the nations! The people have heard the Kaiser and the military junkers of Prussia blamed for this war, but they know there is a deeper cause. They know that in many important departments of life the nations were positively pagan. They are convinced that if the Churches of Christ had been Christian, and not State institutions, plotting for favors and social status, compromising with for some temporary material advantage, giving the lacquer of pious sanction to political and diplomatic policies which were born in hell,—Europe and the world would have been different. Had the Church continued in the spirit of the first three centuries when they had "the cross and the lions and the burning pitch," it would have brought about the reign of Christ, and achieved a soul, conscience, and civilization which would have made war impossible. Now the Pope cannot mediate peace and a whole bunch of bishops cannot stop indulgence in beer, for in pre-war days they did nothing which clothed them with true spiritual authority before the waiting nations.

Mr. Wells sees and feels that when the war drums throb no longer, and the appalling bill of costs—not of

cash, but of blood,—is made out, one of two things will happen: either the nations will madly plunge into despair or, sobered and courageous, they will stride into the new day, armies of the "Invisible King."

Will the Church survive? Yes: if it be a question of survival, not leadership. Time was when she was regarded as the oracle of truth: now she is felt to be either a conclave of obscurantism or the pliant tool of monarchs and cabinets. The spiritual Church, of which Christ is the living Head, will survive, but many hoary ecclesiastical structures will topple into the fissures of this earthquake.

—The Christian Commonwealth.

## A BENIGHTED BODY

It is hard to speak in restrained language of the Calgary Ministerial Association.

At a recent meeting of this body civic representatives were severely censured for countenancing Sunday concerts, Forum meetings, golf, etc., one member contending that those Sunday amusements were responsible for luring the people away from the Church services. The implication of course is that if Sunday attractions were prohibited the people having nowhere else to go would be content to turn to the Church for moral and intellectual stimulation.

There is only one reason for the failure of a church to hold its members and that is simply that it has no message for the people. We live in an age of diligent searching after truth, an age in which all schools of thought must be prepared to submit their faith to the test of free and open discussion. The time is long past for cut and dried sermons that have no practical application to the realities of life, and the need is great for a people's church that is not afraid to cut adrift from theological controversies and dissertations and tackle courageously the problems that confront humanity. Captain (Rev.) J. W. Magwood stated a few home truths recently in his address to the Ministerial Association of Toronto. Speaking of his experiences at the front he said: "I challenge the modern church to duplicate the record of our soldiers in the matter of heroism and self-sacrifice," and went on to criticise vehemently the conventional methods of the churches. He condemned the clerical garb as a relic of "ecclesiasticism," and pointed out that the "aloofness" of the clergy merited the scorn and suspicion with which the soldiers viewed them.

Has our Ministerial Association in Calgary ever taken the lead in any movement which had for its object the betterment of social conditions? Did we find them as a body in the front ranks aiding the retail clerks, for instance, in their fight for better working conditions?

Have they ever visited any of the industrial establishments, packing plants, etc., where unspeakable conditions prevail almost under the shadow of their own churches? The universal criterion of worth to-day is social service and until the Ministerial Association aspires to be something more than a "mutual admiration society" their tirades against Forum meetings, etc., on Sunday will carry very little weight. "By their deeds ye shall know them" is a scriptural injunction which our Clergy seem to have overlooked.

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## Letters from the People

### WHAT IS SINN FEIN?

Here I am in another distressful country, little less perturbed than distracted Russia, tackling problems almost as difficult and perplexing as those which puzzled me in Petrograd. I have listened to explanations of these problems from a host of genial persons who, while professing deadly hatred of my country, yet have overwhelmed me with kindly hospitality, and have left me at the end of their expositions as stunned and dazed as I felt at Niagara after passing under the blinding, deafening, buffeting riot of the Falls.

I concede to them that Britain has shamefully misgoverned Ireland for centuries, that even in the last twenty years of legislative atonement our rulers have bungled and blundered shamefully, that the shooting of Jim Connolly and her boyish rebels, and the recent Thomas Ashe tragedy has revealed a degree of stupidity in the responsible officials almost incredible. I urge in mitigation of my nationality that our ruling classes' misgovernment of the country has been no worse than their idiotic misgovernment and misuse of the British people, and that the democratic cause is the same in the two countries, and that the democracy of Britain is honestly determined to give Ireland at long last all she can reasonably demand. Yet the sole answer so discouraging to reason is: "We want no protection from England. We'll attend to our own business. All we ask is the favour of your absence."

Happily I have much cause to believe that whatever the young hot bloods may say the same people in Ireland would certainly accept any broad, generous settlement at which the Irish Convention may arrive. The only Unionist I have met who now resists large and immediate self government is Lord Londonderry, and even his hostility is expressed in ambiguous and conditional terms. Sir

Horace Plunkett is optimistic as to the results of the convention, and if the Convention settles a settlement it will settle Sinn Fein. How should it be otherwise?

The Sinn Fein movement, at bottom, is the world-movement for democratic rule and the more just distribution of wealth. It has attracted to itself all the vague, inarticulate discontent of the Irish nation. It has become the embodiment in national garb of what would have been in any other country a striving for Socialism.

The first thing that strikes a visitor is Ireland's immunity from the alarms and ravages of war. The next is the awfulness of Dublin's slums and the raggedness of the children. The Irish question is an economic one.

Ireland has suffered and suffers now from an unsympathetic governing class. So does England, Scotland and Wales for matter of that. Irish Labor does not obtain a fair share of its produce. Neither does British Labor. The democratic interest is identical in the mainland and the island. We all in the British realm seek the government of the people by the people. We are all equally tired of the haw-haw, eye-glassed, bureaucratic Barnacles, with family privileges who have for more than a century embittered our relationships by their class ignorance.

Would the democracy of England or Scotland or Wales want to murder the cult of Irish literature or the self-development of Irish Nationalism? Why should they? The sooner it is recognized that the democratic cause is Ireland's cause, and that it is the same cause striving for realization as in other countries of the world, the better will it be for all who have to deal with this thorny problem. The old policy of rigorous coercion and oppression is a policy that has always failed in Ireland. It will fail again. Let not the "quidnuncs" be mistaken!

—ALEX. M. THOMISON.

### GLUTTONY AND WASTE

#### There's a Longing--

Which very properly comes to women when their souls are wearing thin through too many cares, for some luxury to lighten the hump of every-day life. I got it to-day and the sound of the harp and its haunting music coming through a restaurant window tempted me and I fell. For sixpence I got coffee and good music in a fragrant and flowery saloon full of bright people—all feasting. From my corner table I got a good view of one food table at which sat

#### A Pretty Girl--

About twenty, with a beaver hat, a brodered frock, silk stockings, buckled shoes, and polished and pointed finger nails like tiger's claws. She ate like a tiger, too, stolidly and solidly. Course after course of thick vegetable soup, flaky white fish, fried a golden brown and garnished with lemon and parsley (O, Dorothea!) Pheasants, with et ceteras, potatoes, artichokes, and spinach; apple pudding and chocolate cream. And at least

#### A Hundred Others--

In that room were eating likewise and did eat likewise every day. Besides the waitresses moving about there was one young gentleman in immaculate morning coat with silk lapels and a lady in sweeping black satin, whose only occupation seemed to be going from table to table to ask the gluttons if their food was good! Multiply that restaurant by a thousand or an hundred thousand and then not come near an estimate of the people whose lack of imagination, as Sir Arthur Geddes says, enables them to eat more than they need for health. That was

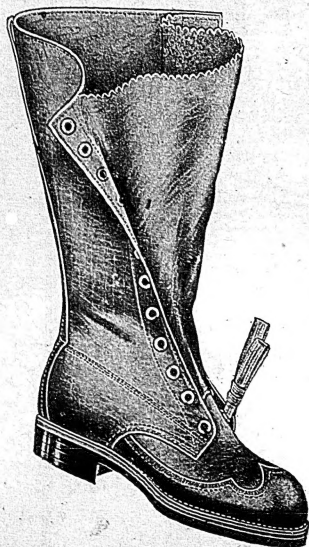
#### The Noon "Lunch."

At night, for dinner, that room would be full again of people eating still more, and who would probably have another meal at home before going to bed. Anyone, not a food controller, or an economy campaigner, and with imagination to see what a pass this gluttony and waste will inevitably bring us—when the innocent must suffer with the guilty—is simply staggered. How much longer is it to be tolerated? Who will

#### Second the Resolution--

For the absolute prevention of waste or gluttony in food? But will it ever be carried out? I am glad that some Local Food Control Committees have told the Ministry of Food that any further voluntary efforts in support of food economy are futile. And why not compulsion here? It's coming, and let it come soon.

—JULIA D.



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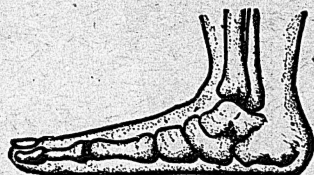
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